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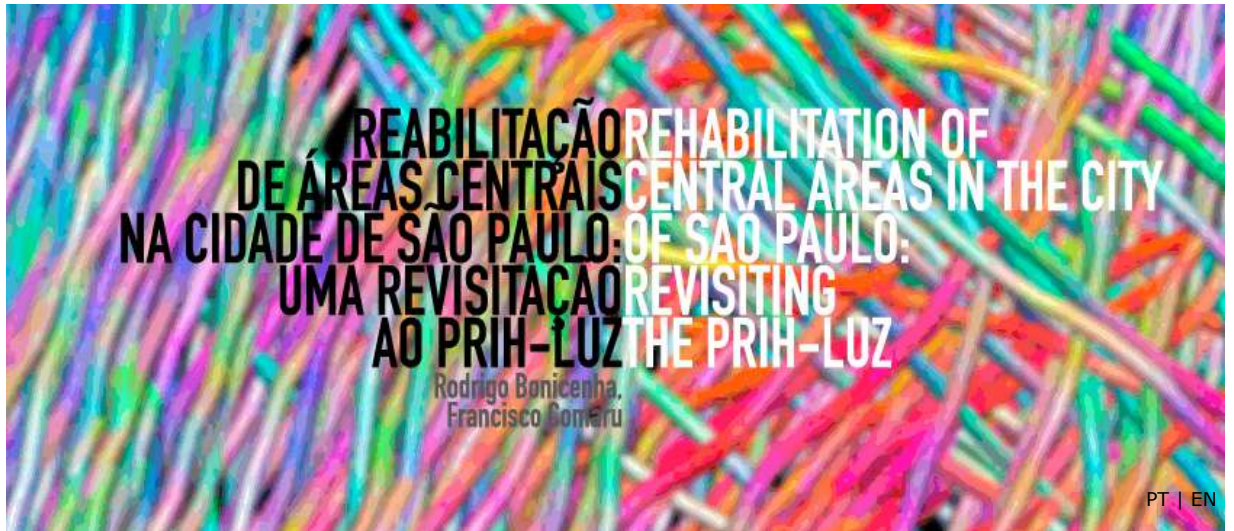
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Abstract:

Abstract

The PRIHs (Perimeters of Integrated Habitat Rehabilitation) were a pioneer urban rehabilitation experience in central areas of the city of São Paulo accomplished during Ms. Marta Suplicy Administration (2001-2004/PT). They had, as a foundation, social rehabilitation aimed at maintaining the local population and “potentiating the territory’s endogenous resources”. An ‘Integrated Intervention Plan’ would be developed with proposals divided into three axes: housing, environmental improvement, and social construction. A committee with the local population would be responsible for the local management of the program and implementation and following-up of the proposals. Even though the PRIHs were discontinued from the end of Suplicy Administration, however, they constitute a rich rehabilitation experience in central areas of a peripheral metropolis. In a pioneering way, they understood the city as a complex fabric, composed of several actors, especially the local population. Beyond great works, they articulated resources and programs available in the territory itself. This paper seeks to revisit the PRIHs as a possibility for housing issues in São Paulo’s Central Area.

Keywords: Urban rehabilitation; Central areas; Social housing; PRIH.

1 Introduction

São Paulo’s center city is marked by severe and complex territorial conflicts. The tenements-type dwellings, for example, cross a considerable part of its history and are still present in the local daily life. Also, over the years, especially in recent decades, several attempts to deal with some of these conflicts have been sought.

In 2001, Ms. Marta Suplicy (from the Workers' Party, or PT) assumed the city government and developed an integrated program, called "Morar no Centro" (Living in Downtown), in an attempt to provide housing for various vulnerable groups in São Paulo's central area. It was a context of broad democratic dialogue in the elaboration of the Strategic Master Plan of the Municipality. The "Morar no Centro" Program included a Social Rental program, a Rent Grant and a program for tenements. It was also composed of a pioneering experience in Brazil of rehabilitation of portions - perimeters - of the central area of the city, as well as unique revitalization projects, such as the São Vito and Mercúrio buildings.

The PRIHs - Habitat Integrated Rehabilitation Perimeters - were formulated based on of European rehabilitation experiments and depart from the assumption of a recovery of parts of the central territory taking into account the local potentialities and characteristics, as well as the maintenance of the population. Another central feature of this "opportunity of programs articulation"¹ was that rehabilitation should happen through small, integrated interventions, stemming from the demands of the local population. Among the ten perimeters planned in the program during the management, only two were partially implemented: PRIH Luz and PRIH Glicério.

Although not a prominent program on the public machine, PRIHs served as inspiration for following central areas rehabilitation programs at the Federal level by the Ministério das Cidades (Ministry of Cities). PRIHs sought the recovery of perimeters in the urban fabric, with the participation of a relevant part of the actors involved, among them the residents, association of merchants, social movements and other organizations operating in the perimeter, among others. The technical teams functioned as mediators of resources and opportunities present in the territory, understanding rehabilitation as a process mainly endogenous to the territory.

We revisit the PRIHs, especially the PRIH/Luz, as an alternative solution to the winding housing issue in São Paulo's central city. In addition to this introduction, we present a section on inspirations, influences, and contextualization of PRIHs. We continue with a last, broader section, which covers the formulation and implementation of PRIH/Luz. We conclude with final considerations.

2 Inspiration, influences and contextualization of PRIHs

The PRIHs - Perimeters of Habitat Integrated Rehabilitation - were thought to have European examples of interventions in urban space that had as essential characteristic the social participation and democratic management of the territory. The three most important European references for PRIHs were: the rehabilitation of historic neighborhoods in Lisbon; the rehabilitation of the "quartiere" of San Salvario, in Turin; besides the OPAHs and PACT-ARIM, in France (Bonicenha, 2014, p.96). They intended a recovery of the urban and social fabric that kept the local population within the perimeter. To this end, it adopted the notion of the social function of property and sought the creation of participatory instances in the rehabilitation of portions of the territory thought of in its relationship with the city.

For Filipe Lopes, architect responsible for coordinating the rehabilitation of Lisbon, urban rehabilitation is:

'[...] an urban management strategy that seeks to requalify the existing city by various interventions aimed at enhancing the socio-economic and functional potentialities to improve the living conditions of the resident population. This requires the improvement of the habitability conditions of the built park, maintaining its morphology and heritage value, valuing economic, cultural and social life through the development of economic activities, based on the enhancement of endogenous resources, and by the improvement of equipment, infrastructures And public spaces, maintaining, however, the identity and characteristics of the area of the city in question and its population, which remains in place' (Lopes, 1995, p.16, our translation).

The maintenance of the local population, according to Lopes, would be an essential feature of urban rehabilitation processes. Besides, it is perceived that, theoretically, rehabilitations, think and influence the city beyond the lot, considering the economic, cultural, social and environmental aspects, in order to foster local potentialities. In general, there is an interest in the "potentiation of endogenous territory resources".

The experiences of Lisbon and Turin inspired the implementation, in the case of the PRIHs, of tentacles of the public power in the area - the "Antenna Offices". In the Portuguese case, they were called "Local Technical Offices" (GTLs), and they were local bases of the public power with professionals of diverse areas responsible for the improvement of the quality of life, environmental, social and economic conditions of the neighborhoods.

The PRIHs sought rehabilitation without the typical effects of real estate (re)valorisation that usually causes the expulsion of the population of the area to be rehabilitated, besides the democratic and participative management of the urban space that included the population and other local actors.

This period is a context of a search for democratic spaces for discussion and management of urban space in Brazilian cities, which began at the end of the 1970s by various sectors of civil society - trade unions, non-governmental organizations, etc. - and gained strength when formulating and approving the 1988 Constitution. The approval of the Constitution guaranteed the formation of municipal councils for the (co)management of public policies, regulated the creation of Municipal Master Plans and brought the idea of the social function of property. All these elements were essential to the approval of the "Estatuto das Cidades" (City Statute) in 2001 (Federal Law 10,257), which regulates the creation of Special Zones of Social Interest - ZEIS - an important instrument for the regulation of urban land. The PRIHs arise in this democratic context and of "a salutary dispute for the city's space" (Vitale, et al., 2005, p.6).

3 Formulation and implementation of PRIHs

When Marta Suplicy was elected, social movements, in partnership with technical advisors, researchers, among others, sought forms of intervention in central areas of São Paulo city. To this end, they conducted a series of surveys. Such studies would be based on a later formulation, by SEHAB/COHAB, of "perimeters" that could be intervened publicly. These would be areas with large concentration of tenements and real estate or empty or underutilized lots.

Concomitantly, the debate and the formulation of the Strategic Master Plan of the Municipality of São Paulo took place, which had a more democratic and participatory type of elaboration. One of the instruments regulated by the Master Plan, approved in August 2002, was the incorporation of part of the perimeters as ZEIS-3, previously discussed in the Strategic Master Plan of 2002.

Initially, six perimeters were delimited for the PRIHs from these preliminary studies: Cambuci (Glicério), Belém, Brás, Barra Funda, Santa Cecilia and Luz. Later, four further perimeters were added: Belém II, Bom Retiro, Bela Vista and Ipiranga. Among these ten perimeters, only those of Luz and Glicerio were partially implemented (Figure 1).

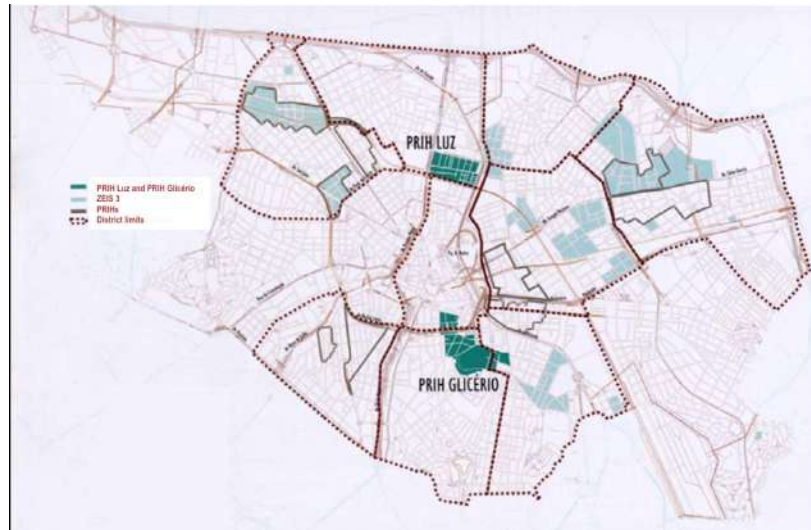


Fig. 1: The PRIHs (Perimeters of Integrated Habitat Rehabilitation). Source: Bonicenna, 2014, p.106.

According to Vitale et al., the PRIHs were:

'[...] an attempt to build a new form of intervention and democratic urban management of central areas, through shared management among local actors, with the objective of improving the quality of life of residents, workers and users through integrated actions. This experience is based on the installation of local offices as an extension of public power in delimited territories' (2005, p.1, our translation).

The local offices, which served as an extension of public power within the perimeters to be rehabilitated, were called "Antenna Offices" (EA) - inspired by the GTLs of Lisbon. Each of the perimeters had its respective antenna office, with a responsible coordinator.

In the case of PRIH Luz, the EA was coordinated by the architect Letizia Vitale. The offices served as spaces for dialogue and interaction among the public power, the local population and other actors present in the territory. Through the EA, the meetings, workshops, lectures and other activities were organized with civil society and disseminated to the local population.

The EA, through partnerships, used real estate in the perimeter for its activities but was effectively located in the Martinelli Building, within SEHAB, under the "Morar no Centro" program (Bonicenna, 2014, p.102). The EA team was reduced compared to the framework planned for proper functioning. The solution found to carry out the studies and diagnoses of the perimeter was the contracting of technical advisories throughout the process. If, on the one hand, there was no greater recruitment of staff to the public service, on the other hand, the constant change of teams made relations between local technicians and actors difficult.

Among the primary functions of the EA was the search for instruments able to perform a Participatory Diagnosis of the area, through which they would meet the needs and demands of the local population. Through the requirements obtained in the Participative Diagnosis, it was sought to articulate the ideas coming from all the social groups and to realize a Participative Planning. Finally, it would be the function of EA to identify the resources present in the territory, these social resources - the organized groups within the perimeters - and urban - underutilized properties, of historical and architectural interest, etc. (Vitale, et al., 2005). This process of construction among the groups, organizations that worked in the perimeter and the local population, would culminate in the formulation of an Integrated Intervention Plan (PII).

The program was allocated to the Housing Secretariat (SEHAB), but went beyond a housing program, dialoguing with several other secretariats and departments. Difficulties for dialogue, divergent rhythms, and different work schedules of each secretariat were, as might be expected, the cause of conflicts and limiters in solving problems (Bonicenna, 2014). Within SEHAB itself, the PRIH small team was not fully incorporated into the staff, the program was not considered a priority and had

no visibility within the secretariat. This relationship of almost informality was maintained for a long time, being changed only when the IDB (Inter-American Development Bank) funding for the program was approved (Padovani, 2005).

3.1. Implementation of PRIH Luz and the initial surveys of the perimeter

The first perimeter to be implemented was PRIH Luz, delimited by the following routes: Avenida Tiradentes, Rua João Teodoro, Avenida do Estado and the railway line (Figure 2). The perimeter's choice was justified by the significant number of underdeveloped tenements, land or real estate that could be reverted to social housing and that would strengthen the maintenance of the local population. Also, the surrounding areas concentrated large sums of money invested by both the state and federal governments, many of which are linked to the IDB to revitalize the area.

As a first step towards the implementation of the program, in July 2002, a stage of local reality knowledge was necessary, together with the beginning of the dialogue with the local population. This preliminary stage was called "Social and Territorial Communication". At the same time, two types of studies were carried out: "Physical-Real Estate Survey" and "Environmental Survey of Public Spaces Use". They have been conducted by LABHAB and Laboratory of Landscape, Art and Culture (LABPARC), both of the Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism of the University of São Paulo - FAU-USP (Bonicenna, 2014).

The Physical-Real Estate Survey took place through registration forms that contained photos, technical information, and contact of the residents. Thus, "real estate opportunities" were identified, as well as the Perimeter's housing situation (Vitale, et al., 2005). The Environmental Survey of the Use of Public Spaces identified landscape and environmental characteristics of local public spaces - streets without exits, wide streets, sidewalks, squares - and analyzed the use of these spaces by the population.



Fig. 2: PRIH Luz limiting roadways². Source: Bonicenna, 2014, p.121.

Despite the proximity to public facilities, such as the Pinacoteca and Jardim da Luz, such equipment was not part of the daily life of the local population, who identified themselves more with the "lower part" of the neighborhood. The Perimeter of the PRIH Luz (Figures 2 and 3) is surrounded by pathways that hinder the interaction and communication of the residents and pedestrians in the perimeter with the surrounding areas.

Regarding the suggested proposals, the FAU-USP and LABPARC teams proposed substantial interventions, with no need of broad recommendations nor palliative. In this regard, the team sought:

'[...] To achieve the main objective of the work that is to favour the involvement of the people who live, work, study, finally, who live in these Perimeters, with the collective space, with the dimension of the public good. Therefore, it is not necessary that the action be physically grandiose; it is enough that it is significant within the place' (Bartalini, Lima and Pallamin, 2005, p.3, our translation).

Successively, the "Survey of Leaders or people of reference" was carried out, as well as the "Mapping and contact with entities operating in the perimeter". The EA relied on the partnership of the Gaspar Garcia Center for Human Rights to hold meetings that identified possible leaderships and the construction of a local reality framework (Malvese, 2006). At the moment, a lack of knowledge of the work of organizations developed in the territory was detected. As a result of this observation, the "Forum of Entities of the PRIH Luz and Sé sub-municipality" was formed, with the objective of providing a space for dialogue and articulation between public authorities and non-governmental entities (Vitale, et al., 2005).

Afterward, "Awareness-raising and approximation workshops with the local population" were held. These workshops were the first contact with the local population with the idea of a "participatory rehabilitation" program. They were carried out in two distinct parts: at first, residents, as protagonists of the process, discussed local potentialities and problems. They later

participated in "workshops of the future", in which they projected their expectations for the neighborhood through the construction of scrap models (psychodrama with the use of external objects) (Bonicenha, 2014).

This first part of the PRIH implementation process was finalized with the consolidation of a "Participative Diagnosis", which took into account the information obtained with the local population and the studies developed by the technicians.

After this first stage, with demands from the PRIH population, which included not only the residents but also the local merchants, the phases of "Social construction - social mobilization" and "Feasibility studies", which were divided into housing and creation and improvement of free spaces for leisure. These phases were aimed at the elaboration of an "Integrated Intervention Plan" for the rehabilitation of PRIH Luz (Vitale, et al., 2005).

At this point, the "Plan of Action" was built. About the Plan, Vitale *et al.* affirm:

'The first practical exercise in planning was the construction of a Plan of Action, related to the first two priorities chosen, with the construction of a common agenda of short, medium and long term. The agenda includes response-actions to existing problems, analysed from the causes and their co-responsibility. Its construction was accompanied by dynamics of recognition of the interference between the various issues and the identification of the actors needed to carry out the actions. With this exercise it was realized that many of the answers identified would be feasible from actions or "resources" already existing in the territory itself. For that, it was only necessary that the actions of the public power be articulated, with initiatives of the population itself, of the local entities and institutions.

This phase was important, as it generated a change in the position of the population involved, which began to take an active role of spreading, encouraging the neighbours to participate in the activities of discussion about the neighbourhood. Another expansion was the participation of some residents in the Participative Budget in the Sé region, with six perimeter advisors' (2005, p.17).

Following the "Plan of Action", the formulation and elaboration of the IIP - "Integrated Intervention Plan" took place.

3.2 The Integrated Intervention Plan and its fronts of action

The elaboration took place in two phases: a first, formed by sectorial dynamics - with local merchants, entities that work in the perimeter and residents of tenements, among others. And a second phase, which took into account the specificities and complexities of sectorial dynamics of integrated planning.

In this phase, the participatory bodies were already formatted, however, the performance of the EA was incomplete, after all the participation of the most excluded group of the population - residents of tenements - had not been satisfactorily achieved (VITALE et al., 2005). In relation to residents of tenements, Vitale *et al.* affirm:

'In plenary sessions aimed at residents of tenements, based on issues of improvement and housing production, the involvement of this group was stimulated to participate in the rehabilitation of the perimeter. The residents of tenements delineated the own modality of participation with the election of a representative by street, thus assuring the follow-up of the process in progress. This process culminated in the formation of a "Commission of Representatives of Residents of Tenements and Pensions", whose work contributed to the design and implementation of the Municipal Policy of Tenements; the elaboration of the booklet "Building Citizenship", aiming at the information of the rights of the inhabitants of tenements; the realization of the first Training Course for residents of tenements. The Commission to date follows the interventions of the Housing Plan, which is part of the IIP' (2005, p.18).

We see, therefore, that once again, within the local territorial specificities, an effective participation of the entire population involved in the rehabilitation of the perimeter has been attempted and achieved, at least for a period. Moreover, as pointed out by Vitale et al. (2005), even after the end of Suplicy Administration, the committee monitored IIP interventions.

The Integrated Intervention Plan (Figure 3) formulated in this stage was composed of actions to be taken in the short, medium and long term. Besides, it was divided into three axes of actions: Housing, Environmental Improvement and Social Construction (Bonicenha, 2014).

In the Housing axis, previous surveys identified two underutilized areas, as well as several empty buildings that could be transformed into social housing projects (HIS - Housing of Social Interest and HMP - Housing of Popular Market).

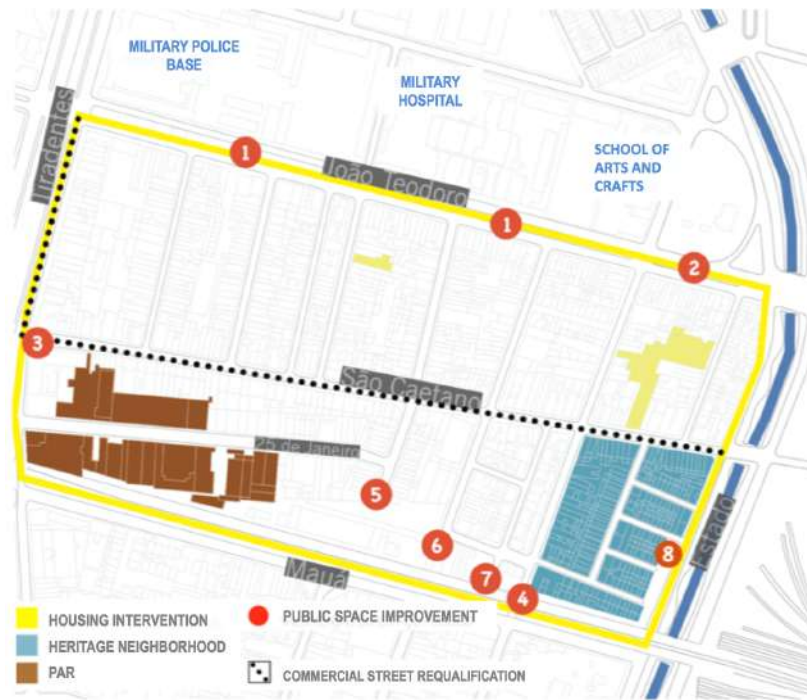


Fig. 3: Perimeter of PRIH Luz and intervention spots³. Source: Bonicenna, 2014, p.142.

The lots, which totaled about 14,000m² (see PAR in the legend of Figure 3), located on Rua 25 de Janeiro and used, for the most part, like parking lots or sheds, were purchased from Curia Metropolitana. The Curia Metropolitana is the leading land and property owner in the perimeter of PRIH Luz and rents many of these properties to local merchants (Bonicenna, 2014).

For the construction of the buildings - the "first [...] produced under ZEIS-3 rules" (Tsukumo, 2007, p.89) to be possible, the role of EA was fundamental. Vitale said in an interview that the team was, initially, to negotiate with the Curia and later to mobilize an entrepreneur interested in building. To the EA, was left the role of being a mediator - *melee*, according to the testimony in an interview - on the negotiation that included the construction company ENGELUX, financing agencies and property owners. Concerning credit, Caixa Econômica Federal used the PAR (Residential Lease Program) and the Associative Loan for the HIS units. For the HMP units, the option made possible by Caixa was that of Crédito Associativo (Bonicenna, 2014).

The feasibility studies had as urban planning the promotion of new urban dynamics in Rua 25 de Janeiro, through mixed use, the mix of classes and a connection of the building with Rua São Caetano, through galleries on the ground floor. Among the socio-environmental guidelines were: the priority attention to tenement residents, local workers and families with income between 4 and 6 minimum wages; Partnership with entrepreneurs to generate employment in the perimeter; the strengthening of relations with the entities operating in the PRIH Luz; and the construction of businesses and services for residents and users of the perimeter (Silva, 2006).

Although the negotiations made feasible the construction of the projects, there were changes about the original project. The mixed use and the connection of pedestrians with Rua São Caetano, elements that were included in the feasibility studies, were altered by the construction company for a more widespread condominium model. The acquisition of land by ENGELUX was for the amount of R\$ 4,050,000.00. Concerning the area, the original terrain totaled 14,346 m², a total of 10,125 m² of the expected area was obtained. In this area, ENGELUX has built a total area of 40,500 m² using Coefficient of Utilization 4.0. The feasibility studies foresaw the construction of 370 housing units of HIS, via PAR or Associative Credit, and 250 homes of HMP, via Crédito Associativo (Silva, 2006).

By the end of Suplicy Administration, mediated negotiations by EA were lost. The construction company continued with the construction of 673 housing units, marketed in the real estate market, including having been sold out in a weekend at the "Feirão da Casa Própria", but did not meet the demand for which they were built (Tsukumo, 2007, pp.168-172).



Fig. 4: Feasibility Study for the implementation of the recent sets and photos of the buildings constructed by ENGELUX. Source: Bonicenha, 2014, p.130.

Concerning the housing axis, the plan also included the creation of a HIS building on Rua 25 de Janeiro, later called "Vilinha 25 de Janeiro", in an old tenement with more than thirty years of existence. The land, which had been acquired in 1992 by an association of residents, aimed at building housing on a joint effort (*mutirão*). With the PRIH, there was a significant institutional relationship for the project to be carried out and 33 housing units to be built (Tsukumo, 2007).

In the Environmental Improvement axis, one of the biggest problems of the perimeter was the absence of collective areas dedicated to outdoor activities. According to Bartalini, Lima, and Pallamin (2005, p.4), out of the entire area of the perimeter (280,000 m²), only one of approximately 1,000 m² fits this description. This means that 0.35% of the total area would be of collective use. This area (Number 8 in Figure 3) is located within a heritage village ("Vila Economizadora") and, although it is part of the perimeter itself, Vila Economizadora presents a relatively autonomous dynamic about the rest of the perimeter. Concerning the authors, this autonomy would represent in practice, that the other residents would not have much access to the place. Moreover, the location of the square itself, in one of the extreme corners of the perimeter and its isolation, make it difficult for people access from other areas of the perimeter that need medium or large walks to reach the square.

To solve this problem of lack of free areas and collective use, it was considered the use of the dead-end streets in the perimeter - those converging to the railroad - to create mutual sharing in these areas (Figure 5). Projects were developed for three dead-end streets. The idea would be to create free spaces and collective use. In the particular case of Rua Djalma Dutra, the project worked with the residents included the creation of an area with specially designed toys for children, as well as benches and tables for general use (Bartalini, Lima and Pallamin, 2005). The projects have not been carried out, and the dead-end streets currently serve as parking lots.



Fig. 5: Dead-end streets in the PRIH Luz perimeter (*Djalma Dutra, São Lázaro e Possidônio*). Source: Bonicenha, 2014, p.140

In the case of Rua Sao Caetano, the "Brides' street", a project that would be financed by the IDB would requalify the first block of the street - the most visible - increasing the size of the sidewalk, by withdrawing parking spaces on the street, in addition to Public park afforestation, laying of benches, dumpsters, etc. (Number 3 in figure 3).

The merchants' association, which was disabled and did not participate in the planning and discussions, but when it realized the possibility of changes in the street, it resumed its meetings and demanded the requalification be turned into the street as a whole. There was a debate among merchants about whether or not to create spaces on the sidewalks, as some felt that they would be hampered by the reduction of parking spaces. Others considered that colleagues would be favored by the "green areas" they would have in front of their shops, but almost unanimously, merchants agreed that changes in the street landscape would be good (Bartalini, Lima and Pallamin, 2005).

In Cantareira Street (Number 4 in figure 3), it was thought of a panel in the underpass below the railroad, which would be executed in partnership with street dwellers. The panel was not executed.

Finally, in the Social Construction axis, composed of the "Living and Participatory Management Program", the program aimed to formalize the process of social participation of the local community. Thus, the following participatory bodies were set up: the Forum of Entities, the Commission of Representatives of Residents of Tenements, and the Rehabilitation Committee. The Rehabilitation Committee, which was supposed to work in the area of PRIHs, was created by municipal decree (No. 44,401) on February 19, 2004 (São Paulo, 2004). They were composed of 18 members and an equal number of replacements, included residents, representatives of entities, representatives of SEHAB, property owners, among others.

It had the following attributions:

'[...] to contribute to the elaboration and implementation of the Integrated Intervention Plan (IIP); Monitor the implementation of the Plan in order to guarantee and respect the will expressed by the local population; evaluate the social and financial results of the Plan; promote community actions aimed at valuing the local architectural and human heritage; propose and evaluate public policies covering the areas of education, health, housing, urban cleaning, leisure, culture, social assistance, sports and lighting' (São Paulo, 2004, art. 3, our translation).

The committees would have been responsible for continuing the rehabilitation and sustainability of the IIP.

With the end of the Municipal Management of Marta Suplicy, in 2004, the Program is interrupted. Regarding this, the Dossier of Complaints by the *Fórum Centro Vivo* states the following:

'The paralysis caused the demobilization of local actors, discrediting government entities and public policies, as well as financial losses. Shared management bodies instituted by municipal decree, such as the PRIH Luz Rehabilitation Committee, were completely disregarded' (Fórum Centro Vivo, 2006. p.23).

The committees designed to give continuity and support to local rehabilitation did not have the strength to remain active after the end of management.

In spite of its small existence, the PRIHs served as a way of articulating actions, both of the public power, and of entities operating in the perimeters, in the search for a rehabilitation of the perimeter. The case of the elaboration of income projects, as well as of professional qualification for the population of the surroundings, or even the construction of the buildings of the Rua 25 de Janeiro, even though the initial demand was not met, point to the possibilities arising from this articulation of Programs and actors. In this way, the PRIHs and "Morar no Centro" are considered important political initiatives of rehabilitation of central areas of São Paulo.

Thus, PRIHs can not be understood as a strictly housing program. Its great wealth was the possibility of an integrated intervention beyond lot, which fomented local potentialities.

Weaving fairer, and less unequal cities is not an easy task. In the present context, in which the municipality resorts to the truculence and the social cleansing of parts of the central territory as a search to "improve it", it seems to us of great relevance to revisit rich experiences that show that another city is possible.

4 Final considerations

The PRIHs arose within a housing program with several fronts of action, called "Morar no Centro", formulated in an attempt to requalify São Paulo's center. They sought an integrated rehabilitation of perimeters in degraded areas with consolidated infrastructure. The recovery process considered local potential, both through the articulation of public power programs and through the articulation of the most diverse resources and agents available in the territory, including traders, entrepreneurs, NGOs, social movements, etc.

For more articulation with the public power, understanding of local demands and dialogue with the community, interlocution points were installed in the territory, called Antenna Offices (EA). The EAs faced shortages of professionals, resources and political power within the public machine because PRIHs are a marginal program within SEHAB.

The demarcation of the perimeters as ZEIS-3 was the form found, at the time, in an attempt to ensure that social housing units were constructed, based on a vision that reconciled housing policy with territorial planning and urban policies. A priori, the program advocated that the local population remain in the rehabilitated perimeter and could claim and follow future interventions in the place, through the formation of Rehabilitation Committees. A great process of construction and social participation would culminate in the formation of Committees, which were not structured to guarantee their continuity when the Suplicy management ended.

The minimalist interventions had in their elaboration the participation of the residents, merchants and other users of the place, so that the demands raised were specific to each perimeter.

Among the results of the program, in the case of PRIH Luz, is the institutional articulation that allowed the construction of three projects - two of HIS and one of HMP -, totaling 403 HIS units, divided into two projects, and 270 units of HMP. Despite the acquisition of the land, located at Rua 25 de Janeiro, with values below the market price, due to the guarantee of social housing construction in the ZEIS-3 area, the initial demand for residents, especially tenement residents, was not met, and the units were marketed in "Household Fairs" by real estate agents.

If, on the one hand, the PRIHs did not obtain significant results, on the other hand, they point out several perspectives that have been little explored by the Public Power - given the non-recovery of the program by subsequent administrations. Indeed, in the current context of growing interest in the real estate market in São Paulo's center, the inspiration of the PRIHs could guide to more democratic urban strategies and guarantee an absolute right to the city. However, within the institutional structure that we have today, we consider the (re)application of the PRIHs of extreme difficulty, with the greatest limitations being those related to financing, but also to institutional, sectoral, departmentalized and centralizing structure and culture.

In spite of understanding the urban fabric as a vibrant thread marked by different complex urban dilemmas, agents, and interests, PRIHs also show that public programs have different limits for their application even when in an environment advantageous to implementation. In the current context of greater "fiscal austerity" on the part of the public coffers, the experience of the PRIHs serves as inspiration in the search for a greater articulation between the available resources in the territory in search of cities juster and less unequal. Fostering available programs and resources is crucial so that central areas along the metropolis are better articulated to the metropolitan fabric and that inequalities are minimized in the territory. Using and better articulating resources, including land resources, is an essential task for us to weave fairer and more sustainable cities.

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¹Expression used in an interview by Helena Menna Barreto Silva, the "Morar no Centro" Program coordinator (Bonicencha, 2014, p.157)

²The images from the upper left corner to the lower right corner are respectively: *Rua João Teodoro*, with the ROTA wall by the side; *Avenida Tiradentes* with *Estação da Luz* on the background; *Rua da Cantareira* underpass; and, *Avenida dos Estados*.

³The numbers refer to: 1 - *Rua João Teodoro*; 2 - *Rua João Teodoro*; 3 - *Rua São Caetano*; 4 - *Rua da Cantareira* - underpass; 5 - *Rua Djalma Dutra*; 6 - *Rua São Lázaro*; 7 - *Rua Possidônio Inácio*; 8 - Square (*Vila Economizadora*).

⁴Respectively numbers 5, 6 and 7 on Figure 3.